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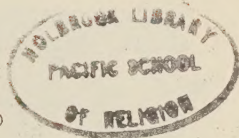
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SOUTH KOREA: THE STORM BEFORE THE CALM?

*A cautious journalist might describe the current situation in neighboring South Korea as "fluid". To others this would be an understatement. In the past two weeks alone: (1) massive student protests have erupted on all major college campuses, inviting teargas, arrests and finally the closing of all colleges; (2) the Government closed all high schools out of fear of the protests spreading there; (3) Christian students and local congregations have led prayer meetings, hymn sings and street marches for the restoration of democracy and basic freedoms; (4) President Pak made a major reshuffle of his Cabinet, including the replacement of Lee Hu Rak as head of the controversial South Korean CIA; (5) the international oil crisis has hit home, exposing the weak foundation under this year's economic boom. The JCAN staff has been watching these developments closely and presents the following background and analysis.*

The student demonstrations which began October 2 at Seoul National University initially protested the heavy-handedness of KCIA infiltrators on the campuses and censors in the media. The students were also angered by the KCIA kidnapping of Kim Dae Jung from his Tokyo hotel and by the growing dependence on Japanese aid, investment and technology. Within two weeks, they were to gain inspiration from the successful student revolt in Thailand.

Still, the first six weeks of protests were relatively mild and restricted mostly to SNU. Several hundred students were arrested, but the government appeared to be taking a relatively "mild" approach to protesters--limited arrests and no reported cases of torture as in the past. The "mild" approach was based on fear of bad publicity leading up to the mid-November Korea debate in the United Nations General Assembly.

What was merely smoldering on most campuses turned to scattered flames in mid-November, then to a brushfire in the last week of the month. When the UN debate effectively ended on November 22 (with agreement that North and South themselves take initiative towards reunification), the students seemed to be saying that *they* couldn't be "mild" any longer. Boycotts, fasts, sit-ins, prayer vigils and marches spread quickly from Korea University and Hankuk Theological Seminary to Yonsei University, Ehwa Women's University and others.

The Education Ministry moved quickly to close the campuses by declaring winter holidays three to four weeks ahead of schedule. The ministry also decided to close the nearly 1000 high schools throughout the country in order, in its words, "to save fuel." (The real reason was fear of the high school students taking over where the college students left off. Since the successful 1960 student overthrow of the Syngman Rhee regime, the KCIA has established an intricate network of hundreds of college campus informers, mostly at Seoul universities. But the KCIA knows it cannot keep tabs on so many scattered high schools.)

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\*\*\*\*\* Reports are that the campus closures will likely defuse the student movement for the time being. Some students, however, are already talking about "April 1974" with the same fervor with which they recall April, 1960.

In the meantime, the Christian rubric and Christian institutions provide the only major umbrella under which democratic elements can meet. There are some recent indications that this umbrella may be well-used in the months to come by the half-million or so Korean Christians who have taken a critical stand toward the Pak dictatorship. (Of South Korea's 32 million people, one in eight is Christian, and about 10 per cent of these Christians are known to be critical.)

On November 27, fifty Christians demonstrated in Seoul asking the government to "suspend surveillance of churches" and to "release arrested students". On November 28, two hundred people from 14 Christian denominations attended a special prayer meeting sponsored by the Korean Student Christian Federation. That same day, 38 members of the Saemunan Church demonstrated with a march and sit-in that led to 18 arrests. On November 29, a group of Methodist seminarians conducted a hymn sing that ended in a clash with the police.

While a number of Christian leaders, notably Kim Kwan Suk, General Secretary of the National Council of Churches in Korea, continue to exhibit great courage, poise and compassion, the government continues to come up with new tactics regarding the church. One of the most grandiose schemes is government support for "Explo 74", a massive fundamentalist revival aimed at students and scheduled for next August in Seoul.

Explo 74, already being built up in the media, is directly sponsored by the Campus Crusade for Christ. Much of CCC's income in Korea comes from a 12-storey building built on land the ROK government gave them in 1968 (after a bloody battle to remove squatters). Its director, Kim Jong Goon, is very close to President Pak, and there are strong indications that they are designing together to "divide and conquer" the Christian community in South Korea.

"Without radical surgery," said one minister, "the CCC could become the major denomination in Korea. It is already succeeding in splitting many denominations right down the middle."

President Pak's reshuffling of his Cabinet on December 3 is significant mostly because it confirms that Premier Kim Jong Pil is Number Two and that Lee Hu Rak lost his battle to be Number Two. Beyond that, it's mostly a game of musical chairs under President Pak, who is preeminently Number One.

The international oil crisis will have a number of direct and indirect effects on the ROK economy. With economic development geared to heavy and chemical industries, the direct threat is clear. The life-line for Korea's boom--exports--have already been hit by production cutbacks. Imports will cost \$200 to \$300 million more in 1974 for oil alone, exacerbating a 1974 trade deficit estimated before the oil crisis at one billion dollars. Furthermore, there are indications that one fall-out of the energy crisis in Japan will be Japan's spending much more on oil and much less on aid and investment in South Korea and other oil-less countries. This will please the nationalistic ROK student movement as long as it doesn't throw the economy into a tither.

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News bulletins smuggled out of the Philippines in November confirm rumors that a major confrontation is building between the martial law administration of President Ferdinand Marcos and the Christian left.

Reports of arrests, harassment and intimidation of democratic Christians are increasing as December 31 approaches. On that date, President Marcos's legal right to the Presidency comes to an end under the old Constitution. From January 1, he will continue as President on the basis of having rewritten the Constitution when he declared martial law in September, 1972.

One of the key arrests confirmed thus far involves Dr. Nemesio Prudente, a noted educator and a major Christian figure in the opposition to totalitarianism. He disappeared October 25 and there is yet no public record of his arrest. Church sources have confirmed, however, that he is being held as a political prisoner in the Camp Crame stockades in Quezon City just outside Manila.

Government troops have raided a number of Catholic institutions, including St. Joseph's College in Quezon City, Our Lady of the Holy Angels' Seminary in Novaliches, and the Good Shepherd Sister's Chapel in Davao. Eleven nuns and nineteen priests have been taken into custody.

Meanwhile, Father Edward M. Goerloch, a Maryknoll priest from the U.S. faces deportation on charges of "aiding Communist subversives." His "crime" was resisting land-grabs by American companies selling bananas to Japan.

The increasing pressure on the church reflects the government's genuine fears that the church, more than any other body in the Philippines, could seriously challenge Marcos's claims to power on January 1.

The Christian Left, the New People's Army, the Muslims and other groups have been mobilizing to challenge the President at this crucial juncture. However, the NPA is largely restricted to Northern Luzon and the Muslims to Mindanao in the South. The Christians have strength in every province, since nearly 90 percent of the Filipino population is Christian. Furthermore, the Christians have the buildings and communication networks, as well as the theological basis, for mobilizing and unifying the oppressed masses.

As a result, government pressure on the churches has grown steadily since late October. Special appeals have gone out to the church establishment, largely sympathetic to Marcos, to keep their numbers in line. The government is trying to appease those Christians who basically desire to cooperate with Marcos but who insist on "critical cooperation based on Christian conscience."

But most important of all, the government is attempting to infiltrate and isolate the Christian Left, that small but strong minority which operated largely underground since martial law was declared. Prudente is the first and most famous victim of this government dragnet.

Church sources say that Prudente, who left his 10-year post as president of Philippines College of Commerce to go underground in October 1972, was arrested in Benguet Mountain Province, near Baguio in Northern Luzon, on October 25. There are reports that he has been charged with "conspiracy to overthrow the government."

Prudente's arrest is considered significant because of his broad base of support, particularly among students in Manila. As president of PCC he became a hero to students for his deep commitment to civil and academic freedom. He won the confidence of student activists when protests hit his campus in the 1960's. During the student riots of 1970-71, he was chosen by the activists to be their mediator with the government.

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\* \* \* \* \* One supporter described Prudente as "a Christian layman whose commitment to principles of justice and the empowerment of oppressed people went beyond statements to concrete acts of love."

Prudente is also well-known in church circles around the world for his articles interpreting the situation under martial law. Shortly before he went underground, he wrote: "The church cannot help but get involved in condemning oppressive and exploitative systems, and giving encouragement and support to liberation movements of suffering masses wherever they may exist."

"The church indeed cannot afford to wait for the time when social forces will compel it to act. It must act on its own initiative, for not to do so could lead to its own collapse."

News of Prudente's arrest has prompted the World Council of Churches in Geneva and the National Council of Churches in New York to issue appeals for his safety and his legal defense. The NCC Japan telephoned the NCC Philippines, expressing their concern. Church bureaucrats in Manila have been moving with less speed and force, due to ties to Marcos and fears of reprisals.

Below the top-level church officials, however, there is growing resistance to the social injustice, denial of basic freedoms, dependence on the U.S., and government corruption that characterize martial law under Marcos.

Bishop Francisco Claver wrote a stinging letter to the Catholic Bishops Conference charging abdication of the church's duty to protect basic human rights since martial law.

Cirilo Rigos, pastor of the Cosmopolitan Church, wrote an open letter to President Marcos charging him with censorship and distortion of truth."

A report prepared by the Corporate Information Center of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. concludes that "martial law has favored American multinational corporations at the expense of Philippine nationalist sentiment."

While the church raises its voice, and the government puts down its foot, the new year draws closer. At that time, say the Christians, the government will lose its legitimacy, and they will feel free to challenge Marcos.

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#### EDUCATION IN JAPAN: THE GOVERNMENT TIGHTENS ITS GRIP

Next April the Japanese government will officially open a "model university" at the foot of Mt. Tsukuba in Ibaraki Prefecture. Tsukuba University is expected to have 9,000 students and 3,350 staff by 1977. Initially the Tokyo University of Education, the nation's leading teacher-training school, will move to Tsukuba. Eventually the university complex, located 60 kilometers northeast of Tokyo, will be enlarged and will be the model for some 100 similar universities the Education Ministry hopes to build throughout the country by 1986.

According to the Mainichi Daily News, Tsukuba University "faces dissension from academic circles on many vital issues." The main issue is government control of university education. At most universities in Japan today, the authority to decide on staff appointments and financial matters rests with the faculty. At Tsukuba, this authority will rest with the personnel committee, the finance committee and the staff board--and most of these positions will be filled through appointment by the Minister of Education. Many leading intellectuals

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say that this set-up, approved by the Diet on September 25 is a direct threat to academic freedom, as is the plan to separate research and education at the university. They argue that government attempts to "rationalize" the university system since the 1968-69 student revolts is in fact an infringement on campus autonomy.

The editors of JCAN asked Dr. Atsuya Iwasa, professor at the Miyagi University of Education in Sendai, to comment on the implications of the government's plans for university reform. His report follows:

Government interference in education is not a new thing in Japan. Since the Elementary Schools Act of 1886, the government has had a hand in setting curricula and putting teachers in a dependent position. For a few years after the war, teachers had some autonomy but the teachers said they didn't know what to teach and the parents complained about the lack of standards. When the Cold War broke out and rearmament began, the Education Ministry moved to establish a number of compulsory controls over elementary, junior and senior high school education. It established a course on moral education, enforced teacher evaluation and compulsory scholarship tests, and decided that the Education Committee should be filled by government appointees.

The result was government restrictions on education that surpassed those before the war. Education began to advance only in accord with government intentions.

Until recently, however, government control was restricted largely to schools below the university level. Although the Ministry of Education made a number of attempts to threaten university autonomy and academic freedom, the universities succeeded in resisting the moves.

This resistance began to break down five years ago. In the face of rapid social change, a dramatic upswing in the number of college applicants, and student struggles on the campuses, even many professors began to lose their sense of confidence and selfhood. The universities were unable to meet the sudden changes and live up to the expectations of the society and, in the confusion, many professors stopped wrestling with the problematic nature of the university itself.

The Ministry of Education saw this as a golden opportunity to extend its control over education to the universities as well. This is how Tsukuba University, the brain-child of the Ministry of Education and the financial world, got its start. Soon after the student barricades were broken down and riot police entered the Tokyo University of Education, plans were made to control the students, consolidate the university and redefine its administration and goals by moving it to Tsukuba.

The move will have a number of serious long-term implications for education in Japan. Tokyo University of Education is the top training institute for teachers in the country, and the education these teachers receive will filter through the larger educational system long after they graduate. But perhaps even more significant in the long-term is that Tsukuba University is intended as a model for universities throughout the country. The changes in the national education laws to facilitate the birth of Tsukuba will apply to all new universities. In this way, the loss of university autonomy at Tsukuba will have a pervasive effect on the whole university system for decades to come.

The amendments to the education laws are intended to "streamline" university administration and to make it more "business-like." Instead of turning to and supporting the faculty in its pursuit of academic scholarship, university



\* \* \* \* \* administrations will become tools of the government, turning to and supporting the Ministry of Education which appointed them. Instead of ideas rising out of an academically free faculty, reforms will be imposed from the top down.

Business will come first and the free interchange of ideas will be secondary. In this regard the national universities will come to resemble private universities in Japan, which leave much to be desired in their emphasis on money-making and on business-like operations which tend to process rather than educate students. (Unfortunately, many Christian schools are no exception; in fact they illustrate the problem of business first.) While the national universities won't need to worry about making money, they will have all the other concerns of an ordinary business.

We will have to wait and see if the Tsukuba University model provides the quantity and quality of personnel that the government and financial sectors demand. We will have to wait and see if education is possible in a setting which considers academic freedom dispensable.

One possibility is that the Tsukuba University model will force people into a higher consciousness about the importance of academic freedom and true university autonomy. This would be a paradox, but history is full of paradoxes.

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#### MISCELLANEOUS NEWS

##### 'A FIRST STEP TOWARD EQUALITY OF THE SEXES'

On November 23rd the Kyoto diocese of the Nippon Seikokai (Anglican Church in Japan) took a small but important step toward recognizing the rôles of women in the church. Sitting in the back of the room, as official observers without vote, were two *fujin dendoshi* (woman evangelists) of the diocese, Miss Nishida and Miss Takada. In the almost exclusively male body of clergy and lay delegates, were one or two women delegates who had the right to vote, a right which had been forfeited by those who had decided to give their lives for the church's work.

After much discussion, the Diocese decided to present a motion to the triennial national convention (*sokai*) of the NSKK next year to change the canons of the church and give woman evangelists the right to sit and vote as full members of diocesan conventions and to be *ex officio* members of vestry meetings (*kyokai iinkai*) of parishes in which they work. The motion also calls for the revision of other things in the canons which discriminate against women.

In the background were recent statements of the Lambeth Conference (of bishops of the world-wide Anglican Communion) and the Anglican Consultative Council stating that there were no compelling theological arguments against the ordination of women. Also on record is the ordination of two women priests in the Diocese of Hong Kong. The subject has been under study in the Seikokai for several years, and on November 17th in Kyoto three women evangelists presented their position and opinions in a panel at the William Parsons Memorial Lecture. Among the inequalities are a lower salary base in some dioceses, a lower minimum pension rate in the national church, a stipulation that their appointment terminates with their marriage, and a lack of clarity as to their responsibilities and rights. The framers of the motion (three men), with the approval of the women, thought that these inequalities should be cleared away as a first step before pressing for the more difficult attainment of the ordination of women.